1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.

434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
591 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest determinant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows groundnuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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592 in cash he receives all year and he has made elaborate plans for its disposal. He
443 often watches the scale men for several weeks asking questions about them from other
43 farmers, perhaps even going to visit a few to see if he can obtain a slightly better
[455] price than that set by the government. On their side the scale men may try to buy a "future" if they see the farmer is in trouble. This involves a cash advance and a much lower final sale price which is intended to cover the greater risk by the buyer since the crop may fail. This practice is illegal, and there have been very serious attempts to stamp it out.

592 Craft production and special services such as religious prayers or barbering
443 are made available in several ways. If someone needs a new hoe, or a mat, or a cal-
443 abash, or the services of a religious person, he may go to that person's household
445 and ask for it. Even in large villages whose markets are open every day it is still common to go to the household of a producer and purchase things when they are required. On the other hand for many things it is still common to go to the market and see what is available.

443 Markets are held weekly and referred to by the day of the week they are
[192] held in any particular village. More often than not people use this weekday as an-
[103] other name for the village itself. Thus in Magumeri a man says, "I am going to Thursday this Monday," meaning that on Monday he is going to Ngubbura, the village that has its market on Thursdays. Even large villages whose market places are open every day are known to have one day a week that is their "real" market day. Thus the market in Maiduguri, the capital city, is much busier on Mondays, its named market day, than during the rest of the week. The reason for this is the link-up of market villages into interlocking cycles.

The best way to understand a market cycle is to ask a Kanuri, "What mar-
[196] kets do you visit?" He then generally gives you a village for every day in the week except for Friday, the Moslem sabbath. These are a series of villages of medium
443 size, usually within a radius of five to ten miles from the village in which you
434 asked the question. Not everyone goes to a market every day, but they know of one
438 in their vicinity and may go to as many as three or four a week if they are busy trading goods. Sometimes they may visit two villages on the same market day one in one direction this week, then another one in the other direction next week, but to a remarkable degree Bornu markets do have a weekly cycle in which people can visit a market close by on any day of the six working days of the week. The reason these weekly market cycles are interlocking stems from the fact that no two villages have exactly the same cycle. Thus a man in Magumeri might go to Ardoram eight miles north of Magumeri for his Monday market, but the Magumeri man goes to Ngubbura five miles to the south of his own village for the Thursday market. On the other hand on that same day the Ardoram man goes further north to a village in *his* cycle rarely ever visited by the Magumeri people, and he in his turn does not often attend the Ngubbura market which is thirteen miles south of Ardoram. So each village has some, but not all, markets in common with others close by, and the entire countryside is linked into interlocking sets of these weekly market cycles. It is important to remember here that many people walk to market, and it is more difficult for the Ardoram man to walk the twenty-six miles to and from Ngubbura market than it is to walk the much shorter distance to his own Thursday market.

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Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

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are scarce and fall again after harvest time, while many material items like jewelry, clothes, etc., are just the opposite, going down in price when cash is scarce and rising later when people have more money after the harvest.

The Organization of Trade

Looking at Bornu as a whole it is also important to see how trade is organized so that goods can move from one point to another as well as into and out of the society as a whole. The best terms to start with here are "retail" and "wholesale," since the Kanuri themselves see a distinction between selling to ultimate consumers as compared with selling to people who are in turn going to sell the item again. At the local level in a town like Magumeri trade is handled by retailers who sell uncooked foods, medicines, charms, medical services, building services, sundries, etc., directly to consumers and the local householders. Generally speaking goods produced locally are retailed locally, usually by the producers themselves. Thus Ka'anami sells his own calabashes, Mala Bukar his own meat, the blacksmith his own tools, and so on. However goods not produced locally such as salt, textiles, kola nuts, and European manufactured goods, are sold by wholesalers first to local retailers, then by these retailers to the local users. The wholesale relationships between buyers and sellers is a very important one and must be viewed close-up to be appreciated. Let us therefore look at it from the point of view first of the retailer, then a wholesaler, then a "financier" who uses his capital to support wholesale trade.

MOMADU, THE SALT SELLER Momadu is about sixty years old and has lived in Magumeri for eight years. He comes originally from Hadejia to the west of Bornu where he began selling salt for an Arab trader when he was a teenager. The Arab gave him several bags of salt (100 pounds per bag) on trust, and he would sell it on the market in one-penny lots at a profit of a few shillings a bag for himself. After the salt was sold, he would pay back the Arab. Later he came to Bornu and was given credit by some of his father's brother's sons. However after a while they quarreled over the division of the profits from the salt selling, and he left this group and came to Magumeri. In Magumeri he asked the district head's wife to help him since she was known for her interest in trade. She arranged for one of her servants to go to the capital weekly and buy salt from the Levantine traders. She then distributed these to a number of people, including Momadu, who paid her when the salt was sold.

Later, when this woman moved away with her husband to another district, Momadu obtained a connection with a wealthy trader in Maiduguri with the help of the district head's wife. This trader sends out a follower each week with five bags of salt and Momadu sells this by visiting local markets during the week. His relationship to his supplier is somewhat impersonal although they trust one another and Momadu pays his respects to his supplier when visiting the city. Momadu says he does not need a very close relationship to his supplier because he already is the *tada njima* or client-follower of Kachella Abba, the head dyer of Magumeri. Momadu has no wife so he eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him, and helps Kachella Abba on the latter's

433 economic situation in Bornu is determined to a large extent by
439 changes in the world market price of export items which are now
473 a vital part of the local economy. The Kanuri are an agricul-
241 tural people whose staple crop is millet. Along with millet,
the main crop is peanuts, grown for sale and ultimate export.
[243] Every farmer grows millet for his family. Should he have a
[438] surplus he sells it in the local markets. Most farmers also
244 raise peanuts as well. The nuts are bought by local trading
[442] companies, acting as agents for the government controlled
[655] Groundnut Marketing Board which buys the entire crop and
[439] sells it on the world market. Cow hides and sheep and goat
433 skins are also brought by the trading companies for export,
237 and represent an important part of the total economy. The West
439 African Pound is the basic currency unit and the shilling is
436 the unit of trade in the remotest sections of the province.
Maria Theresa dollars are still in evidence but are rarely used
as currency.

439 A network of European trading companies exists throughout
442 Northern Nigeria. Almost all of them have canteens run by
473 European agents scattered in larger towns throughout the region.
The largest of these is the United Africa Company, a subsidiary
of Unilever. Others, John Holt and Co., Société Commerciale du
Oest Afrique, Compagnie Française du Afrique Occidental, and A.
G. Leventis and Co., are multi-million-dollar companies with
[452] head offices in England or on the Continent. They all buy pea-
nuts, and hides and skins, and they buy through a complex system

439 of advancing credit to middlemen who do the actual buying of the
413 nuts and hides. The entire peanut crop of an area is bought al-
442 most before it is planted. Textiles, manufactured in Japan or
[62] India, are the main items imported into the region and bought by the Kanuri. Additional items imported in quantity are enamelware bowls and dishes, salt, sugar, perfume, and numerous small items of Western manufacture. For those who can afford them, the trading companies sell battery-powered radios, sewing machines, bicycles, etc.

• 438 Trade, both external and internal, is a vital part of
439 Kanuri economy. Traders are numerous and often very wealthy.
452 Money is lent at interest, though this is forbidden by the Koran.
437 Goods are advanced on credit by European traders, and by Kanuri
441 traders as well. A Kanuri trader who has credit with a trading
[183] company will take 500 pounds' worth of cotton cloth, promising
[443] to pay off the amount in a month. He distributes the goods to ten men who work for him, or, more properly, are attached to him. They each take 50 pounds' worth of cloth to small markets in the bush. There they try to sell the goods directly or they may give the goods on credit to a local merchant who sells them. Slowly the cash returns to the original middleman, and ultimately to the original trading company, which then permits the middleman to take another batch of goods on credit. Conversely, a trading company may advance 500 pounds in cash to a middleman who promises to bring, in one month's time, 500 pounds' worth of peanuts. He distributes the cash to his people who then

433 great numbers. Buduwai farm and keep large herds of sheep,
233 goats and cows in the brush countryside surrounding their vil-
563 lages. The Kwoyam are a nomadic herding people who keep only
563 cows. Culturally they are very close to the Kanuri; their
233 economy, however, is quite different. They live in a close
relationship with the settled agricultural Kanuri whom they
[437] otherwise resemble greatly. Pastoral Fulani and Shuwa Arabs,
on the other hand, have very little in common with the kanuri
agriculturalists, yet, like the Kwoyam, they live in symbiotic
interdependence with the agricultural Kanuri. The Fulani of
Bornu are semi-nomadic pastoralists who are the most north-
easterly extension of far-flung Fulani culture. The Shuwa
are an Arabic speaking people related to other such peoples
extending eastward to the Sudan. Fulani and Shuwa keep dif-
ferent breeds of cattle and subsist almost entirely on milk
• [438] and milk products. They have very similar relations to the
sedentary Kanuri with whom they exchange dairy products for
439 grain and for the goods produced by Kanuri craftsmen. Be-
237 cause of the large numbers of cattle, sheep, and goats found
433 in Bornu Province, hides, sheep skins and goat skins are an
[442] important product for export. These are sold for cash to
Kanuri middlemen and are exported by the trading companies.
[434] They are another important source of revenue for the Kanuri.
ooo Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops

Lastly gum arabic, which is the base from which gum drops
137 are made, is collected from the kolkol tree (Acacia arabica).
222 The trees grow wild, and are fairly common in the area of Geidam. The villagers collect the solidified resin and sell the
[434] gum arabic to the companies. This is a secondary source of cash, and the distribution of the trees is fairly limited.

[262] Some species of plants are gathered for food. The leaves of the kuka tree are the most important, and are commonly used
224 in food preparation. Hunting is of minor importance. Full-time hunters are almost never found. In the larger villages and towns organized hunts are carried out by the young men. In such cases the game, typically gazelle and guinea fowl, are
226 surrounded and brought down by thrown sticks. Fishing is carried out in the rivers and in Lake Chad. Fish are caught by a variety of means--they are trapped in large woven traps, netted, and hooked, and in Lake Chad larger species are harpooned.
[262] Fish are an important food source for communities on the shores
[184] of rivers and lakes, but are not generally important for the Kanuri as a whole.

438 Trade always has played an important part in the Kanuri
443 economy, and this would naturally follow in a society where
[433] rural-urban distinctions are centuries old. The kasuqu, or
[369] market, is a central part of every Kanuri town. The Kanuri
[366] market is primarily and almost exclusively a local market, where village farmers can sell agricultural produce and buy the products made by artisans of the town. In addition, limited regional exchange is effected through the market. External

External
443 trade, involving groundnuts, hides and skins, and European
438 manufactured goods is not effected in the market-place. Every
366
[439] sizeable town has a weekly market day. Large towns have daily markets as well. Adjacent towns have staggered market days, forming loose market rings which link a number of towns. Itinerant middlemen can travel from one market town to the next with their goods, and a town is frequently known by the name of its market day, and will be referred to as "Saturday." Peo-
[484]
369] ple from small surrounding villages without markets will come into town on a market day from as far away as ten miles on foot, and from still further if they are fortunate enough to own a donkey or a horse.

B. Larger Features of the Political Organization.

1. The Structure of the Empire in Pre-Contact Times.

175
643 The dynasty of the Sefs came to an end in 1846, when the last Mai or king of Bornu, Mai Ibrahim, along with his son Ali Dalatumi, was killed. In their place ruled the son of Mohammad el Amin el Kanemi, the first of the Shehus, and the founder
[178] of the dynasty which today "rules" Bornu. Though a dynasty which had ruled Bornu for a thousand years had come to an end, the structure of the empire seems to have remained essentially the same.

[92] Shehu Omar, the son of el Kanemi, took the title of Shehu from the Arabic title, Sheikh. His father had been a Kanembu, from Kanem which lies north and east of Bornu. El Kanemi brought

633 cause it lies on the main highway connecting Ft. Lamy with Jos.
131 Nguru, in the northwestern corner of the province, is the second
491 largest city in Bornu, and is particularly important because it
[496] marks the end of the rail line extending from Lagos via Jos.
Geidam is strategically located so that it benefits from trade
with both. (see Figure 1) Unpaved roads connect Geidam with
Nguru, directly east, and with Maiduguri, to the southeast. It
would be about 130 miles from Geidam to Maiduguri if one went
by the shortest possible route. The road leads directly south
from Geidam, however, and then directly east, and the total dis-
131 tance covered amounts to 170 miles. Though distances are great
49 and the condition of the roads is very poor, trade is dependent
• 438 on trucks which are the life-line of the country. Goods come
into Geidam by truck from both Maiduguri and Nguru. They are
then distributed throughout the countryside by merchants and
tradesmen, using camels and donkeys to transport their goods.
[366] Since no roads at all lead north into Niger and the Kanuri vil-
lages north of Geidam, nor do roads lead east along the Yobe
River to the villages and towns there, Geidam is an important
regional center of trade and commerce. Its geographic location
is therefore an important factor in determining the nature of
the community.

B. The Physical Nature of the Community.

491 The road from Maiduguri joins that from Nguru a few miles
[366] west of the town (see Figure 3). The sole road connecting Gei-

seller.

441 438 439 443 442 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geidam, according to the type of goods in which they specialize. Retailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows, horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place. [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rather, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma in Geidam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became [556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in Geidam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats, three in all, own houses close to one another in another section of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are localized within a single neighborhood.

441 According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

[GEIDAM]

463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177
178 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[491] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

[GEIDAM]

44 ably 5,000 people present at one time in the market-place in
• 438 the early afternoon hours when the peak of trade is reached, and this at a time of year when market activity is subdued.
[442] In the area set aside for pack and riding animals there were: 36 camels, 60 cows (used by the Shuwa Arabs as beasts of burden), 56 horses, and approximately 300 donkeys.

The sellers in the market-place occupy the same stalls each week, and all those selling the same commodity occupy a common area in the market-place. A breakdown of the sellers in the Geidam market reveals the following:

1. a) <u>558 sellers of food-stuff</u>.

Meat - 15 butchers; 5 dried meat sellers; 32 dried fish sellers.

Vegetables - 59 cassava; 43 onions; 33 kalkua (kuka leaves); 42 peanuts, 31 crushed peanuts with oil removed.

Grain - 49 millet; 6 wheat; 6 rice.

[562] Butter - 25 Fulani women sellers.

Others - fresh vegetables, yams, lemons, cucumber, okra, squash, beans, and cooked foods eaten at the market.

b) <u>55 sellers of live animals</u>.

It is difficult to estimate the number of sellers, as each does not sit before his produce, but there were 152 sheep and goats for sale, and 20 horses, young colts and elderly nags. Cattle are not sold at the Wednesday market; the cattle market is held twice a week in a separate area.

[GEIDAM]

44 2. a) 126 sellers of clothing.

• 438 Cloth - 70 sellers who sell bolts of cloth by the yard, and who also sell finished garments. Many have a man in their stall operating a sewing machine, making up clothing.

[439] Shoes - 26 sellers, including those selling Kanuri shoes, Western shoes made of rubber, sandals of cow-hide or rubber tires.

Hats - 10 sellers.

b) 180 sellers of household articles.

Almost all of these are Kanuri-made. They include: beds, mattresses, pillows, woven baskets of many shapes and sizes, calabashes - decorated and plain, wooden bowls, pottery cups, cooking pots and storage vessels, sleeping and sitting mats (bajis) - both plain and multi-colored.

[439] Enamel-ware bowls and dishes, buckets, and blankets are the only imported goods; they are sold by ten sellers.

c) 75 Craftsmen.

[326] [305] [282] [322] [294] Craftsmen selling their services and their products in the market include: blacksmiths (selling knives, hoe and ax blades, swords, horse bits, spurs etc.), barbers shaving heads, leather workers (selling knife sheaths, covered Koranic charms and Koran bags, saddle straps etc.), woodworkers (handles for axes and hoes, Koranic writing boards), carpenters who make Western items, sewing machine operators.

[GEIDAN]

44 d) 71 sellers of raw materials.

• 438 Tanned hides and skins, raw cotton for making thread, raffia from which baskets are made. There were approximately 35 sellers of bundles of grass used for making bəjis.

3. a) 118 sellers of condiments.

73 pepper sellers, 21 potash sellers, 6 sellers of Kanuri salt.

[439] 16 sellers of imported European salt, 2 sellers of sugar.

b) 165 sellers of stimulants.

77 kola nut sellers, 81 tobacco-flower (fəle) sellers, 7 sellers of tobacco used for chewing.

c) 92 sundry sellers.

46 fətkema, selling: cloves, garlic, antimony, antimony cases, incense, pepper, beads, bracelets, pins, needles, hair-picks, dye, mirrors - all traditional Kanuri items.

[439] 46 taborma, selling: perfume, flashlight batteries, matches, kerosene, and other imported Western items.

d) 37 sellers of miscellaneous items.

[732] These include sellers of rope (made by the blind), salt for curing hides, fodder for horses, henna used to dye hands and feet, charms (sold by a pagan charm-seller), candy (alewa), silver for the manufacture of jewelry, horse trappings - saddles, saddle cloths, leads, whips, stirrups, etc.

Total number of sellers: 1, 477.

[GEIDAM]

44 From an overall examination of the sorts of goods sold
438 in the Geidam market, one can draw the following conclusions.
433 More than one-third of the sellers are involved in the retail-
ing of a wide variety of foodstuffs, most of it grown, collected
[563] or prepared by the seller himself. In some cases they are
vegetables (onions) grown on garden plots for sale, in others
they are types of leaves (kuka leaves gathered by Shuwa or
Buduwai women) collected for the market, or a specialized
product in which a group deals (butter sold by Fulani women).
[562] Dried fish were caught by fishermen and smoke-dried by women
who now sell them in the market. Fully another third of the
sellers are engaged in the sale of clothing or household goods,
of which an overwhelming proportion have been manufactured by
Kanuri craftsmen. They sew the clothing, make hats, shoes and
the entire range of household goods noted above. Included
within this category are the suppliers of raw materials to the
craftsmen: grass for mats, raffia for baskets, tanned skins,
etc.; also the craftsmen themselves who work to order in the
44 market-place. The only exceptions to the locally made items
439 which predominate in the area of clothing and household goods
439 are cloth, which is no longer locally woven and represents per-
haps the single most important imported item, and items like
enamelware and buckets. Of the slightly less than one-third
of the sellers that remains to be accounted for, sellers of
condiments, stimulants and sundry and miscellaneous items, most
sell typically local Kanuri items. The tabarma sells imported

goods, and European salt and sugar are also imported. Lastly, kola nuts are not locally grown and must be imported.

Of the 1477 sellers in the Geidam market, only 226 (15 per cent) sell imported items; 77 of these sell kola nuts, and this will be discussed separately; 70 sell cloth or clothing, traceable to the disappearance of weaving as a local craft when Western cloth first appeared; 46 are taborma. The remaining 33 sell salt, enamelware and rubber shoes. It is apparent therefore that the Geidam market is essentially a local market, serving the local community which includes the town of Geidam itself and smaller villages within a radius of perhaps fifteen miles. Villagers come into Geidam on foot, on horse, with donkeys and with camels, bringing with them local produce, such as foodstuff or livestock and locally made wares, which they sell in the market, buying in turn the products made by Geidam craftsmen. Merchants selling in the Geidam market are all small-scale retailers, saborma, according to the Kanuri, who buy someplace and sell elsewhere at a profit. Many of these saborma transport their stock of goods from one weekly market to another, using a donkey or a camel. About twenty miles east of Geidam is the town of Digeltera, often called Sabdə (Saturday) because its market-day is Saturday. Other surrounding towns form loosely integrated market rings with alternating market days so that the itinerant saborma can visit them each in turn with his goods. Since Geidam is reached by roads from both Maiduguri and Nguru, goods imported from the West are

44 shipped into Geidam. This sort of trade, it will be shown,
438 does not center in the market-place, but goods entering in
439 this fashion do eventually reach the market. Cloth, enamel-
ware, and everything sold by the tabarma are all imported into
Nigeria, but they pass through many Kanuri hands before reach-
ing these retailers in the market-place. Sabarma from other
small towns come into Geidam to buy these things and resell
them in their own towns, and sabarma from Geidam go out to the
small towns and villages with their goods.

44 The character of the Geidam market as a local market can
438 also be seen in the interaction of various cultural groups
439 within the market. Peoples of many cultures can be found liv-
563 ing in Geidam. Neither Fulani or Shuwa Arabs, however, are
found in the town itself. Both come into Geidam on market day
to sell particular items with which they are associated and
to buy necessities for themselves. Both the Fulani and the
Shuwa Arabs are semi-nomadic pastoralists who come into towns
solely to exchange their goods for those made by the towns-
people; both sell cattle and dairy products. Fulani men sell
cows, bows and arrows, and distinctively decorated calabashes;
Fulani women sell butter, soured milk, woven baskets and bas-
ket covers in a separate section of the market-place devoted
to their products. The Fulani buy cassava, crushed groundnuts,
[415] sugar, gowns, hats, shoes, kola nuts, and tobacco. Like the
Fulani, the Shuwa sell cows and butter, but the specialties of
the Shuwa include the leaves of the kuka tree which their wom-

44 en collect, and the black wooden bowl (bur) which serves as
438 the standard eating bowl for all Kanuri. In turn, they buy
439 Kanuri-style gowns, bəjis, dates, kola nuts and incense. Last-
563 ly, Buduwai, a pastoral sub-group of the Kanuri, come into the
815 Geidam market with cows, milk, butter and millet to sell. They buy salt, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars (gursus, from which they make bracelets and anklets).

5. External trade.

44 External trade remains to be considered. This is the
439 process through which Western goods, imported by the European
177 trading companies, enter into the Kanuri economy and are distributed so that they eventually reach the individual Kanuri. As part of this process, the cash crops of the Kanuri are sold to agents of Western companies and exported from the area.

44 The trading companies of Geidam sell their goods to whole-
439 salers, wealthy Kanuri or Hausa middlemen, who primarily re-
177 ceive quantities of imported cloth from the companies. The
952 companies extend credit to these middlemen, each of whom has his shop or canteen in the town where his stock in bolts of cloth is displayed. Payment for goods is made after the cloth is sold. Consequently these men are balɔsma in Kanuri terms.
556 Successful operators of canteens are wealthy men who deal in
592 large volumes of goods. They are the heads of large households,
971 and have a great many relatives, and tata njima attached to them. The tata njima farm for them, and many transact business for them as well. They distribute and sell cloth in the dis-

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Nagumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Nagumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

000 season.

Craft Production

467 621 The outline given at the beginning of the chapter has indicated the general organisation of crafts in Bornu. Each village having several of the same variety of craftsmen has a ward devoted to this craft under a headman. Thus Magumeri Village has a ward for butchers, dyers, potters, makers of millet beer, string makers, and calabash makers. [443] Goods produced by crafts not present in Magumeri are obtained 433 through the market. In analytical terms the Kanuri craft industry is characterised by its simple technology, its cottage industry social structure and its relation to outside competition.

Only the simplest tools are needed to produce almost everything made in Bornu and the materials for these can be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. Thus a blacksmith makes about three to five hoes per day and a dyer colours only five or six robes on a busy day. Again a potter's weekly production runs from ten [177] to twenty pots, depending upon the size. The chief exceptions to this [294] are the Singer sewing machines, used universally by tailors to make [402] clothes, and the few milling machines used in Maiduguri.

438 Craft production is carried on in small groups and almost [602] always inside the household of the craft worker. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their ward, especially when they are agnatic kinsmen. However, each owns the result of his own labour. A man's day in craft work is spent within the confines of his own household or closeby in the house of a neighbour who practises the same craft. Thus the locus of craft work, family life, and often male agnates are all the [294] same. In one exceptional case in Magumeri, a cloth seller has invested in three Singer sewing machines and has tada njima who tailor for others

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

443 With one
[442] exception,(1) locally produced items such as medical services, pottery,
[438] meat, and so on, do not have a wholesale organization. Goods not produced locally involve some supra-local organization. This is true of things like salt, textiles, kola-nuts and manufactured goods. As a general rule, locally produced goods and services are retailed by their producers or their close relatives. Thus a lady making pots might send a daughter to market to sell; but a pottery woman was never observed selling her wares to a middleman who would in turn retail them. The data given above on Ka'anami, the calabash maker, is another example of this general rule.

438 On the other hand, retailers of goods not produced locally
442 must have some operating social relationships with a wholesale source of
443 supply. This wholesale supply relation may vary from a specifically
571 economic one to a much more diffuse superior/subordinate relationship. The primary modes of behavioral interaction for all these relationships are bərzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust).(2) Some examples may help to illustrate this point.

(a) Momadu Mandama (Momadu, the salt seller)

438 Momadu, a man of about fifty-five to sixty years of age,
442 has lived in Maguneri for seven or eight years. He comes originally
443 from Hadejia (to the west of Bornu) where he began selling salt for a

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[824] (1) Gworongo, the plant used by women for staining their teeth is pro-
[302] duced locally, but not in enough quantity in any one town to meet demand. Thus a few middlemen per market cycle collect the plants from producers and distribute them throughout the area covered by their own market cycles. They sell to both consumers and retailers.

(2) See above, pp. 57-68.

438 mai gida (1) who was an Arab trader when he was still a small boy. The
442 Arab would give him several bags of salt (about 101bs. per bag) on
443 credit and he would sell this material, winning about 1/- per bag for himself. After all the goods were sold, he paid the Arab for them. In his later teens or early twenties, he came to Maiduguri where he had
[578] some agnatic relatives. They backed him for a while but he ended this relationship because of quarrels over the division of the profits.

When he first came to Magumeri, the wife of the District Head of the day became his mai gida (i.e. his supplier of salt). Her servants went to Maiduguri and picked up salt from wholesalers. She then distributed small lots in bags to retailers. When she left several years ago, he obtained another mai gida in Maiduguri.

It is from this mai gida that Momadu receives his salt at the present time. A tada njima (son of the house, subordinate follower) of the Maiduguri trader brings five bags of salt to Magumeri on Sundays (market day) and Momadu sells them during the week at approximate-
571 ly 2/6d profit per bag. Momadu feels no strong responsibility in this relation for, as he says, he has an aba njima (father of the house, superior, protector) or superior/subordinate relationship with Kachella Abba, the dyer and cloth seller in Magumeri. He eats at Kachella Abba's house, borrows money from him without interest, runs messages for him and helps Kachella Abba on his farm. If Kachella Abba ever moves away from Magumeri, Momadu feels that he would go with him. The salt seller claims that he has no father now and Kachella Abba is really his father

[192] [571] (1) Mai gida is Hausa for head of the compound. In Kanuri it is used to mean the same thing, or it can also mean the person from whom ego obtains his goods. It implies superior/subordinate relationship, and (in Kanuri) can also imply a wholesale source of supply, i.e. a person who is ego's wholesaler.

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 442 443 571 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about town in Maiduguri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro, one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate bàrzum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 442 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Fa-Ol-Bro is Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Geidam District.(1) As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi purchased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.

439 554

(1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it evey after he has become inactive in the role.

438 guri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
442

Ajimi regularly obtains his nuts from four of these traders, all of whom he visits, and all of whose goods he inspects and prices before he decides where to place his order. He strongly asserts that his primary criterion in making the decision as to where to buy is the quality of the nuts. Two of the suppliers are Kanuri, one of whom owns his own lorries; the other two are Hausa. Ajimi has gone to other suppliers in the past but could not, at the time of this study, remember their names. By going to the same supplier over and over again with his uncle's money, he builds up confidence, and has on several occasions obtained an extra kwando on credit from one of the Kanuri suppliers, the profits ofwhich he kept entirely for himself.

435 Although there is some variation in price, it generally
438 occurs at the retail level, while for bulk shipments cash prices re-
442 main fairly constant, and it is quantity which varies with supply, quality and demand. Thus £20.0.0 is generally the price for a kwando of kola-nuts (a large rafia rope-bound package). A kwando contains seven thousand to eight thousand nuts depending upon their size, quality and the state of the market at any particular time. After returning to Magumeri, Ajimi generally gets back about £32.0.0 per kwando and returns the money, plus half the profits (i.e. £6.0.0) to Alkali Bukar. This buying and selling procedure takes him between thirteen to seventeen days or roughly two weekly market cycles.

572
438 He wholesales his nuts in the Magumeri area and regularly
442 attends the Magumeri (Sunday), Gamiram (Thursday),(1) and Ardoram (Monday)
[366] markets.

(1) He avoids the more usual Thursday market at Ngubura and attends the Gajiram market because it has no motor road, and he finds less competition and a smaller number of kola-nut wholesalers there than at Ngubura.

442 out for some new supplier relations since he has recently lost money
571 for Alkali Bukar[1] and the latter, kinship notwithstanding, has been reluctant to continue his financing. Without being asked, Ajimi referred to the possibility of relationships in the future with non-kin backers to meet his need for a mai gida.

(d) Alkali Bukar

441 Alkali Bukar who up until summer of 1957, had been financing
452 Ajimi, was at one time the Alkali of Magumeri and still owns a choice
[423] farm plot there which his son plants and harvests for him with the aid
[648] of labourers. When he was dismissed from his judicial post several years ago by the British he went into trade using his house in Maiduguri as his headquarters.

441 He gives out money to people like Ajimi to trade with and
452 takes a share of the pfofits. Some of these subordinates are kin rela-
571 tions, most are not. Those who are not consanguinal kin start out in his household as tada njima where they carry water, cut grass for the for the horses, run messages and so on. For this they receive their food, shelter, clothing and a little spending money. If over a period of one to two years they prove trustworthy the Alkali gives them some
441 money for trade. During 1956-57 he engaged in the following ventures
438 in Bornu:

(1) Several (two or three) "boys" bought millet in Geidam for sale in Maiduguri.

(2) One "boy" sold cloth (obtained by the Alkali) in Damasac, as well as onions, which the subordinate obtained himself with the Alkali's money.

[684] (1) Ajimi has a penchant for adultery and has had to pay several large fines recently, the money for which he obtained from his trading receipts.

441 (3) One "boy" bought fish at Abadam on Lake Chad and sold it in Maidu-
439 guri.

(4) One "boy" bought soda in Bama (Cameroons) for sale in Maiduguri.

(5) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Kano.

(6) Several (one to three) bought cattle in Bornu and sold them in Makurdi.

(7) One "boy" purchased butter in Damaturu (Fulani country) and sold it in Maiduguri.

441 (8) One (Ajimi) sold kola-nuts in Kagumeri and previously bought ground-
438 nuts for sale in the capital.

441 It can readily be seen that this man, although not directly
571 involved, finances a fairly large amount of trade. His method of participation is peculiarly Kanuri, in that he utilizes the tada njima relationship with its tirzum (discipline-respect) and aman (trust) content to head up a large commercial organization on a structural basis similar to Kanuri kinship and political organization.

441 It is men like Alkali Bukar who form the basis for what
452 might be called "finance traders", i.e. a person who has sufficient capital and/or credit connections, that he can begin attracting to himself subordinates whose primary task is the business of buying and selling commodities throughout Bornu. Like almost all trade in the area which is not directly linked to consumer expenditure, the activities of men like Alkali Bukar are extremely diffuse. He does not specialize in any one item of trade, rather he finances any type of buying and selling in which any conceivable profit might accrue to himself. This
[511] diffuse quality in trade is due to several factors. Firstly, the poverty of the country which is reflected in its small consumption of any one item per unit family. This makes it more profitable to spread out